Surára
pakidái

/47 cont./

352 Finally, as the third and most important form, which is used constantly by men, women, and children, both in the maloka as well as during migrations of the tribe, the plaited hammock of cotton -- nyõ (258) -- is to be mentioned (Ills. 28 and 29). Aside

258. The cotton belts are also designated with the same word.

from the material, it differs from the two earlier types above all because of the weft. The lengths run between 1.60-2.20 meters, depending on whether they are meant for children or adults.
[462] Making them is again the duty of the men, though the women occasionally help a little.

352 Before they are made, two posts are rammed into the ground
● 286 and connected at top and bottom by cross-poles with lianas. The length of the hammock depends on the distance of the latter, for around these cross poles is /Figs. 19 and 20 appear here/ wound the continuous warp thread, the two ends of which are knotted with the warp at the start and finish. This produces front and rear layers of thread, which are united into a single layer by slipping the rear warp threads between the /48/ front ones. After that the plaiting of the double thread is begun, which is done without implements, only with the fingers, from right to left; it should also be mentioned that it is started at the top. All hammocks are plaited with very wide meshes, for the intervals between the individual cross-bindings, which are knotted at the beginning and end, are 8-12 centimeters. To fasten the hammocks ropes of
[824] Bromelia fibers (curauá) are used, which, made of four strands, braidlike, are twisted to the right.

352 When a hammock has been used for some time, it gradually takes on a dirty-brown appearance. This comes about because
[302] the urucũ color with which the Indians frequently paint their bodies rubs off on it somewhat when they lie down and adheres to the cotton.

2: Becher--103 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960
SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 According to the classification by Max Schmidt,
286 who differentiates three groups for the plaiting tech-
174 nique in South America, the cotton hammocks made
171 by the Surára and Pakidái would belong to the second

(284)

Fig. 19. End fastening of a liana hammock.

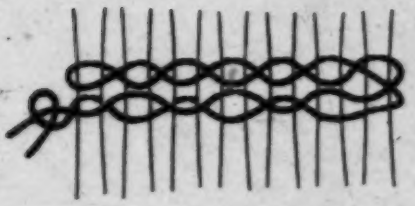

Fig. 20. Diagram of the interweaving of the end fastening of a liana hammock.

group, the double-thread plaiting, which the scholar characterizes as follows: "This plaiting method, which is widespread throughout America, North and South, is simply based, as the diagram in Fig. 115 shows, on two threads that are twisted around each other and are simultaneously, at each half twist around each other, wound around one of the bundles

Surára
Pakidái

/48 cont./

352 of rushes or fibers running parallel to one another" (259). "It is

●286
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259. Max Schmidt, 1905, p. 228.

this double-thread technique," Ruth Haebler writes in her work, "Die geflochtenen Hängematten der Naturvölker Südamerikas /The Plaited Hammocks of the Primitive Peoples of South America/," "which is used in the manufacture of the plaited hammocks. The essence of the two-ply technique thus consists of stretching parallel threads which form a warp, so to speak, and through which the double thread is passed as a weft. As a result of the manner in which the warp is stretched, two completely different groups of plaited hammocks are produced" (260).

260. Haebler, 1919, p. 3.

The Surára and Pakidái hammocks are to be assigned to group two, which leads over to weaving (261), for here there is already

261. Haebler, 1919, pp. 9/10.

regular shed-formation. My observations among the Surára and Pakidái also agree almost exactly with the descriptions by Im Thurn (262) Ehrenreich (263), and Krause (264). This proves an

262. Im Thurn, 1883, pp. 288 ff.

263. Ehrenreich, 1891, p. 22.

264. Krause, 1911, pp. 259 ff.

adoption from the outside, most probably from the Karaiben tribes, which took place presumably by way of the Xiriána. It is noteworthy, however, that all the authors named say that the warp threads are stretched horizontally and that the weft is interlaced
DDD from top to bottom or from bottom to top. From a photograph

Surára
Pakidái
Waica

352 /48 cont./ From a photograph
●286 taken by Zerries (265) it may be seen that the Waiká make their
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265. Zerries, 1954b, Pl. VI, bottom.

cotton hammocks in the same way. With regard to the origin and technique, he writes in another place: "The cotton hammock of the Waika was taken over, in simplified form, from the Marikitare /Makiritare/ and, like theirs, is not woven, but merely knotted" (266). Although Zerries uses the expression

266. Zerries, 1956a, p. 184.

"knotted" /geknüpft/, this is probably the same type which I described for the Surára and Pakidái (267). This is even further

267. The names, too, are very similar, -- "nu" -- among the Waiká (Zerries, 1955a, p. 84; 1954b, p. 71), and -- nyõ -- among the Surára and Pakidái.

elucidated by the following remarks of Schuster: "The cotton hammock, following, as a more recent form, these types made of wild material, exhibits as an essential difference, aside from the cultivated raw material, longitudinal threads held parallel and close together by cross-bindings. Apparently this hammock, whose length is determined by the bow-staff used as a crosspiece on the tying framework, is a clumsy imitation of the far more carefully worked hammock of the Karaiben Makiritare, who live in the northern and northwestern part of the Waika /49/ region" (268).

268. Schuster, 1958b, p. 16.

This cotton hammock of the Waiká, clearly taken over from the Karaiben, thus completely corresponds in form to the one used by the Surára and Pakidái. But what induced the latter in making it to put the warp threads vertically, instead of horizontally, as among the other tribes, cannot yet be explained.

/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 511

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista. They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 435 411

142 146

114 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

/202 cont./

372 They make fire by the rotation method, and the sticks which they use in this process are carried with them tied to the quiver (cf. Barker, 1953, p. 462, Fig. 6). If the camp is situated at a relatively short distance, the women carry a piece of lighted firewood upon which they blow on the way so that it will not go out. Fire is a source of light and heat in the rancherías, and they keep it burning all night long to protect themselves from the cold, from evil spirits, and from dangerous animals.

213 The Sanemá women spin cotton by means of a spindle which they roll on the thigh. The cord is twisted with three threads.

286 301 294 352 They do not weave and use the thread only to make ornaments, guayucos /loincloths/, and sometimes hammocks /hamacas/ and güenepes. The baskets that they manufacture are well made and are very useful for carrying the products of the conuco, firewood, and sometimes large pots made of baked clay; the method that they employ to make baskets (twining) is primitive, common to the marginal peoples of South America. The Sanemá make pottery vessels, conical in shape, but their method is very primitive. The most common container is the gourd.

285 [323] 323 415

412 [237] A cutting implement (gouging tool) which is widely used is the knife made with agouti teeth. It is used exclusively by the men and is made by attaching an incisor of the rodent to a small stick 10 centimeters long by means of gum and a fine plant-fiber. The men carry it in the quiver, under their arm ornament, or, as we saw on the upper Ventuari, in the opening of the ear lobe. With this instrument they make arrows; it is used to mount the point or to open the lower end of the shaft where the peg, provided with a groove for the bowstring, is inserted. The groove is also made with the tooth knife. Becher (1960, p. 54) reports that jealous Surará and Pakidai men sometimes use it to wound their wives, and an informant from the Erebato told us that they also used it to gouge out the eyes of enemy men who had been captured and identified as murderers of a member of the group. The Indian said that once they have gouged out the eyes they free their victims, who die a few days later in the forest. The knife is sharpened with a stone. This type of primitive knife has been found in most of the Yanoama subtribes: Waika

[593] [727] [184]

StLaytine et al. D.E-8 (ca. 1960)1982 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

In 1913, Koch-Grünberg[5] had observed that Yanoaman was different from Caribun and that it apparently represented an isolated language. While this opinion was shared by the majority of authors who subsequently referred to the language, two American linguists have recently broken with this tradition by forwarding suggestions of possible affiliations. Greenberg[6] classified "Shiriana" as a distinct group belonging to the "*Chibchan proper*," subfamily of the "*Macro-Chibchan*" family, and Swadesh[7] established a "*Macro-Siriena*" with an internal separation of 50 mc, including Chapacura (27 mc), and Sirisana (21 mc). He later suggested (personal communication) that Waracan should also be reckoned in "*Macro-Siriena*," which would increase the internal divergence of this microphylum to that of 72 mc. Since the latter suggestion is of major interest to the distribution of the Diego antigen, we shall return to the discussion of the same after having presented the material on the Waica blood groups.

Cultural aspects. The Yanoama are a semi-nomadic forest people who rely for their subsistence chiefly on hunting, gathering, and arboriculture. Fishing is of a very subordinate importance and only peripheral groups, such as the northern Sanemá, have adopted agriculture from neighboring tribes. Although arboriculture is of vital importance among most of the Yanoama subtribes (plantains [*Musa paradisiaca normalis*], and pupunha [*Guilielma gasipaes*]), there can be little doubt that the basic economic and cultural pattern of the Yanoama has remained essentially on a Paleo-Indian culture level of the early hunting peoples of South America.

Yanoama technology is very little developed. The Waica produce thick-walled conical cooking pots, and Yanoama women make large twined carrying baskets. Cordage, belts, and one type of hammock are made of planted cotton, but weaving and metal work of any kind is unknown. Recently, several Yanoama groups have learned how to make dugout canoes, but their crafts and paddles still lack the perfection of the same artifacts among their masters (e.g. Caribs). Very long bows and arrows are the main weapons of these Indians, but stick-clubs may antedate the former.[8]

The local groups of the Yanoama are composed of bands of several extended families with nuclear family households. Residence rules have, as yet, not clearly been established, but judging from the Sanemá of the Erebato and from the

5 Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 475-476.
6 Greenberg, 1956.
7 Swadesh, 1959, p. 28.
8 Only the Waica were reported to make pottery, and the planting of cotton is very recent.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

302 Both men and women and even the small children paint their
[386] faces and bodies with a violet-ish dye extracted from the edible berry of the manaca palm. Sometimes the dye is mixed with the red clay from the river bank. As a dye it persists well, for it often has to compete with many layers of dirt and does not
302 seem to wash off with sweat or rain. The patterns in which
531 it is used vary considerably. All-over dyeing of cheeks and forehead is common, though sometimes vertical lines are preferred, either straight or wavy. The designs are never angular and the same *motif* is rarely repeated. One freshly-painted warrior had his face, neck and chest painted all over a violet-red, while his back was painted with a series of half-inch polka dots arranged in parallel lines. Dots of this sort were also commonly used with artistic purpose on the upper and lower limbs. To heighten the contrast some used charcoal to blacken themselves.

123 Some explorers of these forests have tried to read ritual or
302 war-like significance into this painting of the body. But since we frequently found freshly-painted individuals in company with some whose paint was paling and some who were not even painted at all, I do not think this theory holds good. I believe it is no more than the expression of a desire to be beautiful, although it is true that at a later date, when the natives became menacing, they were all freshly painted.

• • •

352 The furnishing of Waika huts is very simple and orderly, each hut containing anything from four to ten hammocks, and every inch of space being used by slinging the hammocks one
[286] above the other. Some of the hammocks are woven from
[283] threads of forest cotton dyed in ochre, which quickly fades, while others are made of thin lianas crudely knotted at their
[287] ends. We saw none of the bark hammocks which the natives invariably use on their journeys. Each hut is the centre of
592 a family unit, two families sharing the same hut only when the village is crowded.

162 In the present village of about two hundred and fifty people, which we called Platanal, only about forty were adult males.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Another important cultivated plant is tobacco. Since men, women, and children all chew tobacco, the patch of ground devoted to its cultivation is quite large. Each family grows its own supply and jealously guards it. It is one of the most commonly stolen crops and, therefore, frequently has a conspicuous stick fence around it to draw the thief's attention to the fact that its owner shows a strong concern for its welfare. A man will even put a fence between his own tobacco and that of his father, should the two crops be planted side by side, and neither man can take a plant belonging to the other without permission. I also saw a young man place a number of sharpened bones in the ground near his tobacco patch so that a thief might suffer a serious foot wound should he trespass.

Cotton is the last plant to which major significance can be attached. The fibers are separated by hand from the seeds and spun into thread with a stick whorl, then several threads are twisted into a thick yarn. The yarn is rolled into balls about the size of a grapefruit and stored until enough has been accumulated to make a hammock. Frequently the balls of yarn are traded to the members of other villages.

The hammocks are manufactured on a crude frame consisting of two upright poles located about 6 feet from each other. The yarn is wrapped around and around the two poles until the desired width of the hammock is reached, usually about a yard, perhaps a little more. About a dozen vertical seams are braided into the horizontal strands of yarn; the poles are removed after the ends of the hammock have been tied with a few strands of cotton string, and the new hammock is completed (see Fig. 2–7). The women also use the yarn to make a short waistband, armband, and halter, and the men use it to make fat, round belts. All ages and sexes use it as a wrist, ankle, knee, and chest cord, and the men make a waist cord of the string, to which they tie their penis foreskins.

Numerous other plants are cultivated in the gardens, but are not as significant in everyday life as those discussed. They include leaf fibers, *hixa* pigment, avocados, drugs, water gourds and gourds for making spoons and ladles, a kind of squash whose seeds are eaten and whose yellow flowers are used by the young girls as decorations, sugar cane, cashew trees, papaya fruit, hot peppers, and a host of magical plants.

Most of the magical plants are associated with benevolent or at least nonmischievous functions. "Female charms" (*tua hãrõ*), for example, are used by men to make women more receptive to sexual advances. The dried leaves of the magical plant are mixed with a fragrant wood, and the resulting powder is said to be able to make a reluctant female hunger for sex. Most men carry a small packet of this at all times. The powder is held in the palm of the hand, which is then held firmly against the nose of the female: She is forced to breathe it into her lungs. After she has done this, she becomes very receptive, and can thereafter be easily seduced by the man who charmed her. Another magical plant is cultivated by the women. Its leaves are thrown on the men when they have club fights because it allegedly keeps their tempers under control and prevents the fight from escalating to shooting. Still other plants are cultivated to insure that male or female children grow up to be healthy adults, a different plant being associated with each sex.

Some of the plants are cultivated for malevolent purposes, such as causing the women in enemy villages to have miscarriages or pains in the back when they are preg-

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-7. Orasimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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[829]
[84]

nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[6] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

[101]
[14]

[6]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikä*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.